

I recall going to Northern Ireland on President Clinton's last visit there. I had a police officer assigned to me in Belfast. He said to me: "Your President is a great man." I asked him why he said that. He said that before President Clinton came to Northern Ireland, the officer could not speak to somebody of the other faith. He told me which faith he belonged to but that is irrelevant since this was a statement that could have been made by either a Protestant or a Catholic.

He said: "Prior to that visit, I could not speak to someone of the other faith, but now I can work with them, I can be friends with them." He added: "The greatness of what your President has done and what the involvement of your country has been is that I no longer have to teach my children to hate."

Think of that. He was saying that prior to these efforts at a peace agreement, prior to the involvement of the United States and people such as Senator Mitchell and others, he felt that it was his duty to teach his children to hate. Unfortunately, this could have been heard on either side, but now he said he no longer had to do that.

I want to think that is the feeling of most people in Northern Ireland, Protestant or Catholic. But I despair when I see the pictures of these little children going to school. These girls are 6, 7, and 8 years old. Look at the terror in their faces. They are wondering what is going on.

Frankly, it brings back chilling memories of when I was in my teens and seeing the pictures in parts of our country where terrified African-American schoolchildren were being escorted to school by marshals. Here are Irish children being escorted to school by the security forces.

There will not be peace in Northern Ireland, there will not be a promise for Northern Ireland until this sort of thing stops.

I commend the authorities who are protecting these children and pursuing the persons who threw the bomb. We can use law enforcement to stop the violence in the short term. In the long term people must look into their own souls and practice the religious principles that they espouse. They must practice these principles not only for themselves but for those who may not carry the same religion.

I yield the floor, and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BAYH). The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as if in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### MISSILE DEFENSE

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, as we are waiting for some things to happen right now, I am very distressed about some of the things we are hearing about a concerted effort to stop our missile defense language we have proposed for this year that the President has been very outspoken on, a recognition that we are in a very threatened position.

I think it is kind of a shock to many American people when they find out, and I say find out, not hear but find out, that we are in the most threatened position we have been in as a nation perhaps in the history of this country.

I can remember saying this back in 1995, and finally we had the Director of Central Intelligence about 2 years ago say that, in fact, we are in the most threatened position we have been in as a nation.

There is a current movie that people have gone to. I happened to see it on an airplane the other day. It is called "Thirteen Days." It is a story about the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, and some of us are old enough to remember the hysteria that hit the streets in the United States. People were going to the supermarkets and stocking up on things. They were digging storm shelters and telling their friends: Do not come to our house because we are digging a storm shelter. It was panic, and it was panic because they woke up one morning and found out there were Soviet missiles on the island of Cuba aimed at American cities, and that we had no defense against those incoming missiles.

Those were medium-range missiles that could have hit any American city in the continental America other than Seattle. So it is understandable people were panicked about it.

Yet if you saw this movie, one of the alternatives was to take 20 minutes and go down and wipe out the island of Cuba. That was one alternative, and that is why we say and I say that the threat facing America is greater today than it was then, because of those missiles that are currently targeting American cities. And this is not something that is up for debate, it is not something that anyone is going to challenge, because it was classified material until one of the newspapers was able to get some information here about 2 years ago, and, yes, at that time they said at least 18 American cities were targeted by missiles from China.

It goes without saying and everybody knows that virtually every country has weapons of mass destruction, either biological, chemical, or nuclear. The thing they do not have, at least up until recently, is a missile to deliver

those weapons. Now it is a different story. We know for a fact that North Korea, Russia, and China have missiles that will reach the United States of America.

Let me be real specific. If the Chinese were to deploy a missile from somewhere around Beijing, it would take 35 minutes to get here, and during that 35 minutes we have absolutely nothing in our arsenal to knock down that missile, zero. We are naked. It is hard to explain the devastation that can take place by an incoming nuclear missile.

I come from the State of Oklahoma. In Oklahoma, we had the most devastating domestic terrorist attack in the history of this country. That was when the Murrah Federal Office Building explosion occurred. That was devastating, and 168 people lost their lives. I was there just a few minutes after it happened, and I can remember the parts of the bodies that were stuck to the walls of the building that was still smoking. It was still insecure when all of these firemen who had volunteered came all the way from as far away as Maryland to help to try to go in and secure the building, to try to find the bodies. Many bodies were never found.

That was a terrible explosion, and yet the smallest nuclear warhead known to man is 1,000 times that explosive power. So think about what that could do relative to the disaster that took place in Oklahoma a few years ago.

Now we are faced with this threat. I would like to think that is the only problem, but there are other problems. We are at one-half the force strength of 1991. How many people know that? Is that debatable? I am talking one-half Army divisions, one-half tactical air wings, one-half of the ships—down from 600 to 300 ships. It is usually reassuring to people, thinking that although we are at one-half strength, we have the best military personnel, we have the best of equipment, the most modern equipment. That is not true anymore.

We had a hearing the other day before all the Chiefs. There was a friend of mine in the audience named Charles Sublett, a hero in Vietnam, flying F-4s and F-100s while the Navy was flying A-6s and A-4s. I identified him as a hero. He stood up. I said: Let me ask you this question—and a lot of people differ as to the war in Vietnam; there is a difference of opinion Americans have—was it true every piece of equipment you had was better than that which any potential adversary had? He said: Absolutely.

Today that is not true. The best air-to-air missile we have is the F-14. It is not as good as the SU-27 now manufactured on the open market and bought by the Russians and Chinese, and the best we have for air-to-ground capability is the F-16 and still their SU-30 is better.

I asked the same question of the generals testifying. They said that is true

in terms of the range and the maneuverability. Our pilots are better, but the equipment is not as good. The same is true with artillery capability. The Paladin is outgunned in terms of range and fire by almost everything our potential adversaries have. It is not just that we do not have a missile defense in this country when the threat is every bit as real as 1962 when everybody panicked. We have a real job in trying to do an adequate job defending this country with the defense authorization bill that will be forthcoming.

Tonight we have our first meeting. We had subcommittee meetings today, and tonight we have our first meeting. I hope this does not end up being a partisan bill. People recognize defending America has to be the No. 1 priority.

#### EXPORT ADMINISTRATION ACT OF 2001—Continued

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, on the bill before the Senate, it is my understanding some people are trying to work out an agreement, but I rise in opposition to the Export Administration Act. A lot of people state the purpose of this bill is to protect the national security. We are kidding ourselves. The real objective of those who wrote this bill and who actively support it is to promote trade and transfers of the very dual-use high technologies which, in the wrong hands, pose a serious threat to national security. Their emphasis is such liberalized trade will be good for the economy, but we have to ask: At what price?

This debate does not occur in a vacuum. We have the record of the last 8 years when we had an administration which deliberately ignored and undermined our Nation's cold war system of export controls designed to protect national security. Their attitude was that the cold war was over so there was no real threat out there. Why worry about technology transfers? Why worry about rogue state missile systems and weapons programs? This flies in the face of everything that is logical.

We have had very serious problems in hearing things taking place in China. During the elections in Taiwan when there was a notion we might go in there and try to intervene, they were trying to intimidate the elections by firing missiles in the Taiwan Straits. Later on the second highest ranking Chinese military officer said: We are not concerned about America coming to the aid of Taipei because they would rather defend Los Angeles.

Then we had the Defense Minister of China saying, war with America is inevitable, which he has repeated 3 times, once in the last 8 months. We have a serious problem out there and we have to recognize that.

My fear is a lot of this technology is going to go to countries such as China, and specifically China.

I will review the actions of the Clinton administration. The first thing they did in 1994, shortly after taking office, they ended COCOM, the Coordinating Committee on Multinational Export Controls. This was put together so we and our allies could all agree not to export high technology that could get in the hands of the wrong people. That system was set in place, and in 1994 the administration ended that.

The administration, shortly after that in 1996, took control of the authority on export licenses out of the hands of the State Department and put it in the Commerce Department. Later they recognized it was wrong, the public recognized it, and after the Cox report they moved it back to the State Department.

The granting of waivers for missile defense technologies—we all remember the significant problem we had when the administration signed a waiver to allow China to have the guidance technology produced by the Loral Corporation, owned by the Hughes Corporation, that allow the Chinese to have the guided-missile technology that gave them more control over where the missiles might go, even if one might be coming toward the United States. They allowed transfer of high-performance computers, which ended up helping improve Chinese military systems.

The theft of our nuclear secrets, at that time we had 16 nuclear compromises. Eight were before the last administration; eight were during the Clinton administration. We discovered that of the eight before the Clinton administration, one went back as far as the Carter administration, which was discovered by this country when a walk-in informant came to a CIA office with the documentation that China had that information from those other compromises from the previous administration. Yet it was covered up until the Cox report came out 4 years later and we realized China had virtually everything.

The main thing that concerns me is we have a threat out there today. We have been guilty of allowing our nuclear secrets to get into the hands of the wrong people. Until this is under control, I think it would be premature, in my opinion, to pass, to implement those changes recommended in the Export Administration Act under consideration today.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, we have been here now since 2:15. Senator

LEAHY spoke in morning business about Northern Ireland, which was very lucid and understandable. I appreciate his remarks. We had the Senator from Oklahoma, Mr. INHOFE, talk for 5 minutes or so about this bill directly and indirectly. We have a few people who oppose this legislation, but they literally are holding up not only what is going on in the Senate but what we need to do for this country.

We have eight appropriations bills that need to be passed. We could be working on those. We have the education bill and some things we still need to finalize. We have conference reports. We have lots of things that need to be done. There is a hue and cry that we need to get to the Defense bill. We need to do Defense appropriations. We can't do that until we do the Defense authorization bill.

I hope everyone understands that one of the alternatives available on this bill and any other bill is we can move to third reading. We could do that right now. We, of course, will not do that. I will confer with Senator SARBANES. I hope Senator ENZI, who has been managing this bill for the last 2 days, will confer with the ranking member of the Banking Committee, Senator GRAMM, to see if we can get permission to do that. We really want to move forward on this.

I see the chairman of the committee here who has worked so diligently on this bill. I say to my friend from Maryland that we are getting requests now for morning business that are totally unrelated to this legislation. We have been here all this afternoon. We had some very good statements this morning on the bill. It is important that Members have an opportunity to speak on the bill. Here we are, doing nothing, with so many things left to do.

I say to my friend from Maryland who is so ably managing this bill that I think we should be arriving at a point soon, if Members aren't willing to come over and talk about what they want or are not willing to offer amendments, we move to third reading. Certainly there is nothing in the order that would prevent that. Senator DASCHLE said he would not move to cloture under the agreement with Senator THOMPSON, and he will stick to that. But that doesn't mean we do nothing all day Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday.

I know the Senator from Maryland is trying to work out a compromise. All I am saying is that I hope before we have an afternoon of morning business we decide whether or not we are going to be able to complete this legislation.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, first of all, I don't think we should go to morning business. I think we should stay on the bill even if there is a period of time when we are in a quorum call.

Second, I say to my colleagues who are listening that if anyone has any